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*An Account of the Changes and Present Condition of the Population of New Zealand.* By SAXE BANNISTER, Esq.

[Read before the Statistical Section of the British Association, 22nd August, 1838.]

SINCE the general peace, British emigration has increased at the following rate :—

In the first five years after the peace the *average* number of emigrants to all parts of the world was annually 5000. In the five years ending 1831 it was annually 20,000. In the seven years ending 1837 it was annually 70,000.<sup>a</sup> This enormous increase is likely to become far greater, in consequence of the favourable reception of the new colonizing principle of selling new lands, and applying the price to sending out emigrants.

The influence of this increased emigration on the millions of barbarous natives in those new lands is of the greatest importance. No human power can stop the white people; but it is conceived that they may be wisely guided, so as to become blessings to the aborigines, instead of a scourge and a curse.

The case of New Zealand, as exhibited in the following facts, is an important illustration of all the points connected with the subject :—

The New Zealand group consists of the Northern Island, the Southern Island, Stewart's Island, with some smaller islands. Its situation is between 34° and 48° of south latitude, and 167° and 178° of east longitude. Its exact extent is uncertain; according to the account put forth by the New Zealand Association, it is about 95,000 square miles, or 60 millions of acres; according to evidence given before the House of Lords in 1838, it is about 100,000 square miles.

*Population.*—The population consists of, 1st, native tribes; 2nd, white residents; 3rd, white visitors, or transient population; and 4th, mixed race.

1st, with respect to the *Native Tribes*.—In 1769-1773 the population of the whole group was estimated at 100,000, according to the testimony of Dr. Reinhold Forster, contained in his *Observations made during a Voyage round the World* (1778, 4to. pp. 224). "The southern Isle of New Zealand has very few inhabitants; but the northernmost, according to the accounts we had from Captain Cook, and from what we saw in some few places as we passed by, is much better peopled—nay, in some spots very populous; therefore, allowing 100,000 souls to both isles, we rather think our estimate to fall short of the true population." Mr. Montefiore, in his evidence given before the House of Lords in the year 1838, says, with reference to the present time, "I have heard the population stated at 500,000 to 1,000,000, in the whole country, but I think this is impossible;" and Mr. Coates, the Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, in his evidence before the same Committee, states that "there are above 200,000 in the whole country, viz., 105,000 in the northern island, and 95,000 in the southern." Mr. Polack, in his evidence on the same occasion, states that "there are 5 natives to 3 square miles of land, or 130,000 inhabitants in the whole country;" and, in his recent work on New Zealand (vol. ii. p. 343), he says that "the native population is about 150,000, or 3 persons to

<sup>a</sup> Report of the Emigration Commissioners, 1838.

about 2 square miles." The Rev. W. Gate states that there are about 180,000 in the northern island, and adds, "I have seen the greater proportion of them."

The native classes are the chiefs, the common free people, and the slaves, or prisoners of war. The chiefs are about one-tenth part of the whole. A considerable number of the natives are absent from New Zealand in foreign ships, or in visiting foreign countries.

2nd, *White Residents*.—There are from 1800 to 2000 British subjects in New Zealand, of whom 158 are runaway convicts or sailors.<sup>b</sup> On the Southern Island there have been Europeans during the last 35 years, principally sealers and whalers: 200 or 300 English are settled in Queen Charlotte's Sound in Cook's Straits. There is another English settlement in Stewart's Island, and another in Dusky Bay.<sup>d</sup> The first religious mission was established in 1814, when some runaway convicts were found in the North Island. Traders had already bartered European goods for flax.<sup>e</sup> In a petition addressed to King William IV. in 1837, by 193 persons, including 24 Wesleyan and Church missionaries, it is stated, that "Several of your Majesty's subjects have resided in New Zealand for more than 20 years, since which their numbers have accumulated to more than 500 north of the river Thames alone. The frequent arrival of persons from England and the adjacent colonies, is a fruitful source of augmentation, and there is reason to anticipate a rapidly rising colony of British subjects here." It was given in evidence before the House of Lords, that "European settlers have increased wonderfully of late;"<sup>f</sup> and Mr. Polack, in his work on New Zealand, states that there are "150 white residents in the Bay of Islands,"<sup>g</sup> and that there are 3 or 4 whites with every tribe, the chiefs not suffering them to be taken.

3rd, *White Visitors, or Transient Population*.—

1642, Tasman, Dutch, mutual hostilities between natives and visitors.

October, 1769, Cook, English, ditto.

December, 1769, Surville, French, ditto.

1772, Marion, French, ditto.

1791, Vancouver, English.

From the time of Vancouver's visit to the present day (1791-1838) an uninterrupted intercourse has been kept up with New Zealand, some thousands of vessels of every description having touched on every part of the coast, from the North Cape to the land farthest south.<sup>h</sup>

*Northern Island*.—The Bay of Islands was principally preferred after 1791.<sup>i</sup>

One thousand European and American sailors have been seen at one time in the Bay of Islands.<sup>j</sup>

In 1836 the following ships visited the Bay of Islands:—

<sup>b</sup> Evidence before House of Commons' Aborigines Committee, 1836, p. 143.

<sup>c</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, p. 81, Mr. Polack.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146, Mr. Baring.

<sup>e</sup> Polack's *New Zealand*, vol. i. pp. 325, 326.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81. <sup>g</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 47. <sup>i</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>j</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, 1838.

British,—Whalers, 64; Ships of War, 2; Traders, 27	. . . . .	93
American, „, 49	„, 5 . . . . .	54
French, „, 3	. . . . .	3
Tahitian, „, 1	. . . . .	1
		151 <sup>k</sup>

*Southern Island.*—In 1836 from 12 to 36 ships were seen at a time in the Southern Islands; and 300 sailors have been known to “run” at a time there.<sup>1</sup>

4th, *The Mixed Race.*—A considerable population is springing up from the marriages, or from the illicit intercourse of white settlers and visitors with New Zealanders.

The white inhabitants and visitors are chiefly English, with many Americans, and some few French and other Europeans.

The classes are—1st, official persons, as the English and other agents, consuls, and occasionally the military and navy; 2nd, the missionaries dependent on societies in Europe; 3rd, traders; 4th, sailors; 5th, convicts; and, 6th, mechanics and labourers.

The whole of these people do some good, and all have done some evil, in New Zealand; and the particular influence of the different classes upon the character of the natives is the most interesting circumstance in the history of New Zealand. What that influence has hitherto been will be easily inferred from the facts brought forward under the several heads in this statement.

*White Visitors, or Transient Population.*—The circumstances attending the transient visits of Europeans to New Zealand have not differed from those which have attended their occasional visits to all savage countries. Want of caution, and want of consideration for the rights of the natives have led to frequent massacres on both sides. But the New Zealanders have generally evinced a good disposition towards their visitors; and there is less blood shed at present between the two parties than was common in former years, from the times of Tasman, Cook, and the rest. The killing of a white man by a New Zealander is now more rare than the murder of white men by white men in the country.

*The French.*—The chief peculiarity in New Zealand, with regard to white people, is the *asserted* dislike of the French by the natives, which involves circumstances of the greatest importance, and in which there is a mystery proper to be cleared up.

It is certain that one of the earliest visits to New Zealand by a French ship occurred in 1772, the commander being M. Marion du Fresne; and that, from some unknown cause, his friendly intercourse with the natives was suddenly changed into hostility, which ended in the killing of M. Marion and many of his officers by the natives, and in the French taking extremely sanguinary revenge.

It is asserted that, in consequence of this unhappy event, the New Zealanders have a peculiar dislike to the French. But this is in the highest degree improbable. There is, perhaps, no example of a lasting feeling of vengeance in any savage people for the civilized nations that has injured them. Their placability in this respect is one of their remarkable characteristics; and it is altogether distinct from their revenge-

<sup>k</sup> Polack's New Zealand, p. 252.

<sup>1</sup> Account of New Zealand by the New Zealand Association, p. 347.

ful disposition in individual cases. It is indispensable to ascertain the whole truth in this matter.

Captain La Place, a distinguished French officer, at this moment commanding a discovery ship in the South Seas, was in the Bay of Islands in 1830, with another ship of war, the *Favorite*. In his account of his first voyage, published by the French government in 1835, he refers to the point in question as follows:—"The missionaries of the Bay of Islands exhibit neither the charity which all the ministers of religion profess, nor the generosity for which their countrymen are remarkable towards strangers. My offers and my solicitations to obtain from them some refreshments for our sick were alike vain; and I soon convinced myself that these preachers of the Gospel, suspecting me of political purposes, endeavoured to disturb the harmony that existed between me and the natives, by insinuating to them that I meant to take possession of the bay, and revenge the massacre of Marion."<sup>m</sup>

Mr. Polack states this case in the following terms: "On the arrival of Captain La Place in the French corvette '*La Favorite*,' in October, 1831, a report was industriously circulated in Sydney, and the Bay of Islands, that this enterprising commander intended to take possession of the country in the name of his august master, Louis Philippe. This fabulous report occasioned a few of the native chiefs to hold conferences, which resulted in their requesting the missionaries to address a letter to his late Majesty William IV. at their dictation." In this letter is the following passage:—

"We hear that the tribe of MARION is at hand coming to take away our land. We therefore pray thee to become our guardian, and the friend of these islands, lest the tearing of other tribes should come near to us, and lest strangers should come to take away our land."<sup>n</sup>

With reference to this petition, Mr. Coates, in his evidence before the House of Lords, says—

"These chiefs, who say in their letter to the King that the tribe of MARION is at hand, mean the French. Why they are called the tribe of Marion I do not know."<sup>o</sup>

Captain Fitzroy's evidence is to the same effect.

"There is a serious difficulty in the way of Frenchmen settling in New Zealand. There is a strong prejudice against them, which originated with the massacre many years ago, when some of MARION'S crew were murdered, and their death was revenged by others of the French ship's company."<sup>p</sup>

The question is, whether the dislike of the New Zealanders to the French is the genuine consequence of the case of Marion, or whether any of the English have excited this dislike. It is certainly not the way to civilize savages to act wrong towards our civilized friends.

*Depopulation.*—Mr. Coates, the secretary to the Church Missionary Society, states, in his evidence before the House of Lords, that "the missionaries think the native population is decreasing." He adds, "I doubt it."<sup>q</sup>

The government agent in New Zealand asserts, in a dispatch, that "at the Missionary Institutions the native children are dying extensively."<sup>r</sup>

<sup>m</sup> *Voyage de la Favorite*, tome iv. p. 35., cited in Bannister's *British Colonization and Coloured Tribes*, 1833, p. 182.

<sup>n</sup> Polack's *New Zealand*, vol. ii. p. 218.    <sup>o</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.    <sup>p</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>q</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 180, 181.

<sup>r</sup> *House of Commons' Papers for 1837.*

The following causes of depopulation are recounted by a recent writer: 1. The wars from 1821 to 1830, which were occasioned by Strongi, who visited England. 2. Want of occupation, which prompts war. 3. Superstition, which forbids food being given to the sick, and so kills "thousands." 4. Bewitching kills "thousands." 5. The degraded state of the women, and polygamy. 6. Suicides. 7. Diseases.<sup>a</sup>

It was stated in evidence before the House of Lords, that the population is even now but "a remnant of what it was in the memory of some European residents."<sup>c</sup> And Captain Fitzroy testifies that the general opinion in 1835 in New Zealand was, that the population was decreasing fast.<sup>d</sup>

*Diseases.*—Captain Cook says, in 1769, "These people enjoy perfect and uninterrupted health. We never saw a single person who appeared to have any bodily complaint; nor the slightest eruption on the skin, nor marks of an eruption."<sup>e</sup>

Dr. Forster expatiates on the general healthiness of the New Zealanders; but he thinks the venereal disease was among them before our arrival.<sup>f</sup>

The venereal disease now is so common, that a medical witness has stated to the House of Lords that 49 women in 50 have it (Evidence, p. 20). The natives attribute it to the Europeans (p. 32). Other diseases are common and fatal. Scrofula is prevalent (ib. 20). The influenza has been fatal to many (ib. 199). Cutting timber for the Europeans has introduced a new disease (ib. 119, 183).

*Native Laws and Usages.*—"The chiefs exercise a sovereign authority in the administration of justice after their fashion.

"I have heard them, and seen them sit together, and form a council."<sup>g</sup>

"Each chief legislates for his own territory. The customs and laws appear to be very much alike, and they seem to be remarkably tenacious of them. They initiate their children into them in very early days. It is very amusing to see them teaching their children. They will teach them as if they were old persons. In return, they hear them as patiently as if they were old people speaking, allowing the child to ask questions.

"They appear to have councils, or annual meetings, or feasts. Chiefs of various tribes meet together, and speak at great length, sometimes on war, and sometimes on all sorts of subjects.

"They have their assistants to sit with them as reporters, to assist them to remember their speech. If they forget any points they refer to these friends, of whom some attend to one thing, and some to another."<sup>h</sup>

In the petition to the King of England before quoted, it is asserted that "the chiefs are incapable of exercising the duties of an independent government;" and Mr. Polack, in his account of New Zealand, states that "the law of force has hitherto ruled the country."<sup>i</sup>

*Character and Capabilities of the Natives; Industry; Food.*—In Cook's time, the natives are reported by Dr. Forster to have been "hos-

<sup>a</sup> Polack, 2nd vol. pp. 331, 335, 344.      <sup>c</sup> Ibid., p. 183.      <sup>e</sup> Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>b</sup> First Voyage, Hawkesworth, vol. iii. p. 460.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Montefiore's Evidence before the House of Lords, p. 65.      <sup>f</sup> Observations, p. 482.

<sup>g</sup> Mr. Watkins's Evidence before the House of Lords, pp. 27, 29, 30.

<sup>h</sup> Vol. ii. p. 431.

pitable, sincere, and generous friends ; intrepid and bold warriors ; implacable and cruel enemies ; carrying their thirst of revenge even to such a degree of inhumanity as to feast upon their unfortunate prisoners. They are generally men of sound understanding, and have taste and genius ; as proofs of which may be mentioned their curious carvings and other manufactures.”<sup>c</sup>

“ It appears to me that the New Zealanders must live under perpetual apprehension of being destroyed by each other. . . . Notwithstanding this divided and hostile state, travelling strangers (New Zealanders), who come with no ill design, are well received and entertained during their stay. Thus it is that a trade for green talc is carried on throughout the whole northern island. They seem to be perfectly satisfied with the little knowledge they are masters of, without attempting in the least to improve it.”<sup>d</sup>

“ Their master-piece is carving, which is found on the most trifling things ; and, in particular, the heads of their canoes are sometimes ornamented with it in such a manner as not only shews much design, but is also an example of their great labour and patience in execution. Their cordage for fishing-lines is equal in strength and evenness to that used by us ; and their nets are not at all inferior. But what must cost them more labour than any other article is the making the tools we have mentioned.”<sup>e</sup>

“ Their principles of honesty and public faith are noble and romantic.”<sup>f</sup>

“ They treat their women in the most oppressive manner, and the parents and relations frequently sell to strangers the favour of females against their will.”<sup>g</sup>

“ They build some of their houses with elegance. Their dress shelters them against the weather.”<sup>h</sup>

“ They think themselves happy—nay, happier than the best regulated nations, and every individual of them is so perfectly contented with his condition, that not even a wish is left in his breast for the least alteration.

“ None of the New Zealanders, upon the offer being made to them, showed any desire to go with us to our own country.”<sup>i</sup>

“ In 1769, Mr. Banks saw some of their plantations, near Poverty Bay, south of the Thames, in the northern island, where the ground was as well broken and tilled as even in the gardens of the most curious people among us. In these spots were sweet potatoes, colos, or eddas, well known and much esteemed in the East and West Indies, and some gourds. The sweet potatoes were planted in small hills ; some ranged in rows, and others in quincunx ; all laid by a line with the greatest regularity. These plantations were of different extent, from 1 or 2 acres to 10 ; taken together there were about 150 acres in cultivation in the whole bay, though we never saw 100 people. Each district was

<sup>c</sup> Dr. J. R. Forster's *Observations during a Voyage round the World, 1787*, 4to. . 237.

<sup>d</sup> Cook's *Third Voyage*, 4to. vol. i. pp. 137–140.

<sup>e</sup> Dr. Anderson's *Observations on Cook's Third Voyage*, vol. i. p. 160.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Forster, p. 321.

<sup>g</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 321, 322.

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

*Ibid.*, p. 302.

fenced in, generally with reeds, placed so closely that there was scarcely room for a mouse to creep through.”<sup>j</sup>

“In the Southern Island the food consisted of fish and fern-roots, for we saw no cultivated ground. In comparison with the inhabitants of other parts, they are poor. They had scarcely anything but fish to dispose of.”<sup>k</sup>

“In Cook’s time they feasted on their prisoners. . . . ‘I asked,’ says Dr. Forster, ‘whether they eat the flesh of such of their friends as had been killed in war, but whose bodies were saved from falling into the enemy’s hands.’ They seemed surprised at the question, which they answered in the negative, expressing some abhorrence at the very idea. Their common mode of disposing of their dead is by depositing the bodies in the earth.”<sup>l</sup>

“Their cannibalism has been represented by the ingenious Dr. Hawkesworth (vol. iii. b. ii. ch. 9) as introduced among the New Zealanders by hunger, but I dissent from his opinion. I did not find them ever so much distressed. They have prudence enough to provide stores of all kinds, in proper season. When they catch more fish than they can eat, they carefully dry and lay them up. Their women go frequently up the hills, which are covered to an immense extent with fern, and dig up the roots for dry food, when fish and other eatables cannot be had. We saw great quantities of these provisions in their huts, and frequently found them employed in preparing both fish and fern-roots for the bad season.”<sup>m</sup>

Mr. Polack gives the following testimony of their condition in 1836:—

“Raper, a chief of my party, strongly insisted on the services of the Europeans to the natives by a thousand acts, instancing several inventions that had been introduced to save labour, as the chisel, the adze, the axe, the tomahawk, which has superseded the ancient stone instruments, continually subject to be broken. These facts were answered by a murmur from the audience, expressive that they were invaluable. Raper then instanced the introduction of the pig, corn, and potatoes, and other esteemed edibles presented to the country by the white men.”<sup>n</sup>

The same author says—“I spent the twilight in viewing the plantations, laid out in the neatest order. Few farms in civilized countries could be planted with greater attention to neatness. The potatoes and kumeras were planted in rows of small hills; between them the large broad lotus-leaf of the farinaceous taro appears; large patches of the Indian corn grew in neat order to the right; and the land was cleared of weeds, piled above the walls of stone collected from the ground, which I calculated was 20 acres. There were besides, cabbages, shallots, garlick, turnips, and the kaupakeha, a sort of yam, but superior.” . . . “These were Heathen plantations.”<sup>o</sup>

“There are districts of clever men, such as the East Cape; they make handsome mats, and are peculiarly clever in carving.”<sup>p</sup>

<sup>j</sup> Cook’s First Voyage, Hawkesworth, vol. ii. p. 313.      <sup>k</sup> Ibid., vol. ii. p. 405.

<sup>l</sup> Cook’s Third Voyage, 4to. vol. i. pp. 137, 138.

<sup>m</sup> Dr. Forster, p. 325.

<sup>n</sup> Polack’s Seven Years in New Zealand, 1838, vol. i. p. 178.      <sup>o</sup> Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>p</sup> House of Lords’ Evidence, p. 90.



"A native, who has taken the English name of Bailey, is the chief mate of a vessel of 300 tons. He would have been captain if our navigation laws allowed it."<sup>a</sup>

"The native New Zealanders are capable of rising above the common seamen. They shew a wish to make progress. They are better men than the ordinary crews of our whalers."<sup>b</sup>

"The New Zealanders expect payment for everything you take from them. They always honestly discharge the credit given them. Some traders have large quantities of stores in various parts. The ships have come to induce the natives to sell the flax ordered for other parties, but nothing on earth would induce them to sell it to the third parties."<sup>c</sup>

"I agreed myself with three natives in 1835; they appeared thoroughly to understand the nature of the agreement. They entered into my service, as they called it, and worked 8 hours a day."<sup>d</sup>

"There is no indisposition in the natives to work for a compensation. They take the whales; they mix in the boats, and are good whalers."<sup>e</sup>

"There are, at present (1830 to 1837), sailing in the Pacific, ships with cargoes worth 20,000*l.* steered by New Zealanders day and night."<sup>f</sup>

"Where the New Zealanders have had an opportunity of being instructed they have shewn great ability. Their farms have astonished every stranger."<sup>g</sup>

"The natives have a very great desire to be taught to read and write.<sup>h</sup> They worked for me in clearing the ground, sawing timber, gardening, fencing, &c.; we paid them monthly with duck trousers, or shirts, or blankets; with potatoes for their daily food, and occasionally flour or tobacco, slates and pencils, knives or razors, and other small articles."<sup>i</sup>

In a missionary letter laid before the House of Lords, dated 1st December, 1837, it is stated that—"The natives have this year fine crops at Waimate—40 acres of wheat. Very few of them, however, will be efficient farmers. It requires too much outlay, and too much hard work and perseverance. It is however a pleasing sight to see them growing sufficient to help them when sick."<sup>j</sup>

"The disposition to active and steady industry among the natives goes to a very limited extent, and is found almost exclusively, if not altogether, among those natives who have been converted to Christianity."<sup>k</sup>

"Under the influence of the missionaries, and in that comparatively advanced state of civilization to which they are brought through the agency of the missionaries, anything like a habit of steady industry is not to be found to any considerable extent."<sup>l</sup>

#### PRODUCTION—EXPORTS.

Mr. Montefiore states, with reference to the natives south of the Thames, and remote from the missionaries, that "they cultivate un-

<sup>a</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, p. 91.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75, Mr. Enderby.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59, Mr. Montefiore.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.*, Mr. Flatt, p. 34.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.*, Mr. Montefiore, p. 168.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.*, Mr. Plack, p. 79.

<sup>g</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>i</sup> Mr. Flatt's Evidence, 1834-37, p. 34.

<sup>j</sup> Evidence, p. 197.

<sup>k</sup> Mr. Coate's Evidence, p. 181.

<sup>l</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

commonly well; they fence in their land; their potatoes are cultivated better than by many of the settlers in New South Wales. *Those I saw were heathens.* They build fine canoes. . . . Last year we had several thousand bushels of maize from Poverty Bay.”<sup>e</sup>

“I see that, in 1837, my firm in Sydney, being the agents for parties who are cultivating in Poverty Bay, received large quantities of maize, wheat, and potatoes, flax, pork, hogs’ lard, whale-bone, oil, and every thing in which the country abounds.”<sup>f</sup>

“The export of flax has decreased rapidly in the last 8 years in consequence of the wars of the tribes. In 1831 1000 tons were cleared from New South Wales, and in 1837 scarcely 100 tons.”<sup>g</sup>

“It is asserted that the trade of New Zealand now amounts to 4,500,000*l.* per annum.”<sup>h</sup>

“New Zealanders now visit all parts of the world, instead of being unwilling, as in Cook’s time, to go abroad.”

*The Missionaries in New Zealand.*—Two Protestant societies only have missions in New Zealand; the Church Missionaries, founded in 1814, and the Wesleyans, founded in 1823. In the present year a Roman Catholic Mission has been founded by the French.

It is admitted by almost all eye-witnesses, that the results of missionary labours have been highly beneficial to the natives. In the occupations of peace, in agriculture, and the mechanical arts, and even in literature, their example and precepts have unquestionably improved large bodies of the New Zealanders of all ages—and their intervention and advice are believed to have greatly lessened the horrors of the native wars.

The success of these missions has been unequal.

“The Church missionaries had, by the last accounts, 100 communicants, although established in 1823 and with 25 labourers; the Wesleyans 700, after only 10 years with 6 labourers.”<sup>i</sup>

This witness considered the difference to be attributable “very materially” to the alleged fact of the Church missionaries having become large landed proprietors.<sup>j</sup> “The evidence against the Church missionaries is strong; although all missionaries are prohibited strictly from seeking ‘gain’ and entering on ‘commercial speculations.’”<sup>k</sup>

“It is a notorious fact, that the missionaries do hold very large quantities of land in New Zealand. I have seen letters from them to their friends in New South Wales inviting them to come there.”<sup>l</sup>

“Our missionaries have very briefly referred to the fact, of the Church missionaries having purchased land, but no information has been communicated as to the extent of land they have purchased. They have referred to the fact, that objections have been raised by the natives against their brethren of the Church Society, on account of the land which some of them have purchased, merely referring to it in passing, regretting the fact.”<sup>m</sup>

There is further evidence to the same effect. Mr. Flatt states that

<sup>e</sup> Evidence, pp. 61, 64.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>g</sup> Polack’s *New Zealand*, vol. ii. p. 287.

<sup>h</sup> Bannister’s *British Colonization and Native Tribes*, p. 191.

<sup>i</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, p. 123.

<sup>j</sup> Ibid., p. 268.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid., p. 59, Mr. Montefiore.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid., p. 310, Mr. Beecham, Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

"Mr. J. Davis, a catechist, has bought land adjoining the Society's farm;"<sup>n</sup> that "the members belonging to the Church Missionary Society possess much land. None have purchased in so large quantities as they;"<sup>o</sup> and that "these purchases commenced more than 6 years ago."<sup>p</sup>

The Wesleyans are stated by the same witness not to be holders of lands like the Church Missionary Society.<sup>q</sup>

The secretary of the Church Missionary Society explains these transactions by suggesting that the missionaries have made the purchases of the lands in trust for the natives.<sup>r</sup>

So Mr. Garratt, the Chancery barrister, who is an active member of the Church Missionary Society's committee, conjectures that these lands were bought by the missionaries as trustees.<sup>s</sup>

A missionary of this Society, who was examined before the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons in 1836, stated that "his Society possessed land; but, as individuals, the missionaries were not allowed by the Society to possess any. In most instances, the land of the Society had been purchased at the request of the natives."<sup>t</sup>

The principles of the Wesleyans strictly enjoin their missionaries to keep "at the remotest distance all temptations to a secular, or mercenary temper,"<sup>u</sup> and it is understood that they have lately dismissed a leading member of their New Zealand mission, who disobeyed that part of the rule which concerned personal profit, viz., the purchase of land.

Its other branch, *secular* concerns, both the Wesleyan Society and the Church Missionary Society, have declared it to be their determination to abandon in New Zealand, by making their missionaries political agents there.

Their present political and secular occupations, and their disposition to continue them, have been stated as follows to the House of Lords: "The missionaries are invariably called forward to assist in all disputes, such as trespasses."<sup>v</sup>

Captain Fitzroy says, "At present every thing is submitted to the missionaries. An example occurred to myself in the case of some masters of merchantmen coming to ask for my interference. I went with them to Mr. Busby, thinking that he, as British resident, was the person to interfere for his own countrymen; but he told me he could do nothing, and that there was no alternative but to go to the missionaries. This was the case in which an attack was about to be commenced by the natives on two British ships. I went to the missionaries, who settled it at once in a satisfactory manner. In reply to the question, whether they would be willing to undertake such a duty not immediately connected with their professions, Captain Fitzroy says, "From what I saw of them, I should say that they would be quite willing to undertake any duty that might lead to the good of the natives."<sup>x</sup>

The operations of the missionaries have been somewhat impeded by the constant disputes among the Europeans, in which they are judges.<sup>y</sup> "The missionaries are treated as chiefs. The natives consider they

<sup>n</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, p. 38, Mr. Beecham.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid., pp. 87, 88.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>t</sup> House of Commons' Paper, Sess. 1836, No. 22, p. 189.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid., p. 297.

<sup>v</sup> Evidence, p. 16, Mr. Watkins.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

can call upon the English government, and send for soldiers at any time. Indeed they hold out a slight idea they can send home in case of any emergency. For instance, they say, if you will not do so and so, we will write home, and have power here to set it to rights; as much as to say, government will take cognizance of any injury committed on our property.”<sup>a</sup>

“The congregations were not increasing when I was there. The missionaries attributed it to the great difficulty of dealing with their own countrymen; and that in consequence of almost their whole time being taken up in settling disputes, they had little or none left for instruction, particularly for instruction in the schools. Not a day passed but a message was sent to the missionaries from one or another, to settle some trifling disputes. All the disputes in the neighbourhood came into their hands.”<sup>a</sup> There were not many children in the schools in consequence of the secular occupations of the teachers,<sup>b</sup> and the instruction of the children devolves wholly on the wives of the missionaries.”<sup>c</sup>

The whole question is involved in the following questions and answers, which place the imprudence of employing missionaries for these purposes in a striking light:—

In the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons, in 1836, a missionary from New Zealand was asked whether it would not be advantageous to the success of the mission, that the missionaries should have a political power vested in them by the government of this country? To this question he replied—“Certainly not. They might be called sometimes to interfere, when it would very much thwart their efforts by the decision which in justice they would be compelled to give. It might prevent their usefulness as ministers of the gospel. I would not accept it myself.”<sup>d</sup>

In the New Zealand Committee of the House of Lords of this year, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society was asked—“Is it your opinion that the missionary societies can be used, when the country increases in population and in industry, for purposes of civil administration and government, without losing all their power for the object for which they were originally intended?—Up to what point in civilization the agents of the Missionary Society can be advantageously employed, is perhaps a problem that has not yet been solved. We have recognized a principle of this kind in dealing with countries in rather a different state from New Zealand, where the operations of the missionaries have arrived at that point at which the system of the Church of England could be advantageously introduced, with dioceses and parishes, in the same way in which the affairs of the Church of England are administered here, that in that case the period for the exertions of the Missionary Society has ceased. But with reference to such a country as New Zealand, I apprehend that period must at present be distant, and that therefore the probability is, that the sphere of exertions of the missionaries will continue a considerable time to come, if not prematurely broken in upon by the introduction of colonies. At the same time I say very distinctly, that the Church Missionary Society have the strongest objection to missionaries being employed in any way beyond

<sup>a</sup> Evidence, p. 32, Mr. Watkins.

<sup>a</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>d</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

their proper province as religious teachers and instructors ; and that whatever assistance they may have hitherto given to Mr. Busby, or which they might give to any other authority, of whatever description in the island, would be of the most limited extent, and only as a temporary arrangement, but certainly not with a view of that forming any integral part of our operations."

"But if the government of this country is to become a native government, under missionary regulation or dictation, would not that bring your missionaries always into action in all the civil affairs and business of the country?—Certainly. For my own part I never contemplated the missionaries being placed in the way of dictation, or of direction to the natives of New Zealand, in the event of such a process as that which the question supposes ; but I presume that the missionaries in New Zealand, as the missionaries in some other districts of the South Seas have done, would, when the chiefs found themselves in want of the means of administering a salutary government, give them counsel and information on that or any other point affecting their interests, which might enable them to carry their own views into effect ; but beyond that point I do not anticipate that the agency of the missionaries will ever be employed under any circumstances, and I conceive they would lose their distinctive character by any such employment."

"If it should appear that already the missionaries have been mixed up with more dealings in land than the Society at home would think justifiable, would not that rather prove to you the danger to the religious objects you have in view, of mixing up the missionaries more than they are now mixed up with the affairs of government administration?—The only difficulty I feel in answering that question is the doubt I entertain of the fact which it supposes. I should do injustice to the missionaries, as well as express an opinion against my own judgment, if I were to admit that they have so acted : I certainly do not think they have so acted. We have no reason to suppose so, except what has arisen out of those statements of Mr. Flatt."

"You doubt the facts ; but if those facts should turn out to be true, considering the very respectable men you have upon those stations, would it not rather confirm your belief of the danger of mixing up religious and civil duties in the same individuals?—I am bound to say that it would ; because, though I say it with much reluctance, yet should such turn out to be the fact, I certainly should regret that missionaries of the Church Missionary Society should have taken that course."

#### LAND—NATIVE TITLE—PURCHASES BY WHITE PEOPLE.

"The lands are held among them by a sort of feudal tenure. No persons are in possession of it who are not chiefs ; and they are obliged to go to war with the chieftain. All have a share in the price when it is sold. The chieftain has, perhaps, no power over it, but he signs the title."

"It is the native custom to fix on any part of the country and plant it. If they keep it that year it belongs to them ever after. It becomes their property."

<sup>e</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords ; Mr. Coates, Secretary to the Church Missionary Society, pp. 265, 266.

<sup>f</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords.

<sup>g</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

"When they sell any land the whole tribe must be present. But often that cannot be the case, for a great number of natives go away in English and American ships, and all who are within reach must be present and give their consent."<sup>h</sup>

"The first purchase of land by Europeans was in 1815, for a missionary station: the price was 12 axes."<sup>i</sup>

The company of 1826 obtained 1,000,000 acres for about the value of 50*l.*"<sup>j</sup>

This purchase is respected to this day.

"The Kouri forests have become, for the most part, the property of Your Majesty's subjects."<sup>k</sup>

"Land once purchased after the approved native method, is tabooed to the purchaser, and becomes his property. The native landholder, in demanding a price, generally reminds the buyer, in order to enhance the value, that the property is to descend to the children of the purchaser; that the articles given for it soon go, and nothing is left to the seller."<sup>l</sup>

This is the common opinion; but recently a new view has been taken of this point of the alienation of the soil by the natives.

Captain Fitzroy, of the royal navy, has stated to the House of Lords that the sale of land to the missionaries is a sort of conditional sale:—"We sell them to you to hold as long as we shall permit you."<sup>m</sup>

The secretary of the Wesleyans states on this point—"I rather lean to the conclusion, that the natives have no very distinct idea of the total alienation of their lands; but may cherish the notion of resuming them at some future period, under certain circumstances. But there is nothing in the history of our mission which would enable me to produce a fact in illustration."<sup>n</sup>

#### WARS—ARMS.

*Wars, Arms.*—In the account of Cook's third voyage, in 1773, it is stated that, "The weapons of the New Zealanders are spears from 5 to 30 feet long; patoas, or short clubs of 18 inches; and halberts, or long clubs of 5 or 6 feet long, and sometimes stones."<sup>o</sup>

"The people of each village by turns appealed to me to destroy each other."<sup>p</sup>

"Tringobooke, whom I met in my last voyage, had been killed 5 months ago, with about 70 persons of his tribe; and I could not learn that there now remained in the neighbourhood any tribe, whose number could secure to them a superiority over the rest."<sup>q</sup>

The Rev. H. Williams, chairman of the Church Missionary Society, speaking of the year 1831, says, "Each boy at Touranga has 2 or 3 guns, and the men 10. I have not known of their going against any other tribes since their possessing the means of attack, but to act on the defensive."<sup>r</sup>

"It is stated that in 1836 the New Zealanders are all armed. They get their fire-arms from the whale vessels and the traders in flax and

<sup>h</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, p. 172. <sup>i</sup> Ibid. <sup>j</sup> Ibid., Mr. Baring.

<sup>k</sup> Petition of 193 British subjects to the King of England.

<sup>l</sup> Polack's New Zealand, vol. ii. p. 202.

<sup>m</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, p. 174.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid., p. 297.

<sup>o</sup> Cook's Third Voyage, vol. i. p. 161.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>r</sup> Polack, vol. ii. p. 44.

timber. I have seen the Bay of Islanders make a present of a thousand stand of arms to their enemies, the people of the south, after a war."<sup>a</sup>

"The British government, in trading with the native chiefs for spars or flax, has invariably supplied the people with arms and ammunition."<sup>a</sup>

"The result of the experiment of introducing fire-arms has been to preserve peace among the tribes. Many wars have been prevented, each party being supposed to be about equal in strength."<sup>a</sup>

In the last war at the Bay of Islands in 1837, some hundreds of thousands of balls were discharged, 3000 combatants being engaged on both sides, with little loss. On one day 5 were killed. Had the native fight of close quarters taken place, many hundreds must have been killed.<sup>x</sup>

The missionaries often reconcile enemies, and prevent wars,<sup>y</sup> while the Europeans too often excite them.<sup>z</sup>

#### CRIMES COMMITTED IN NEW ZEALAND BY WHITES, AND PUNISHMENTS.

In some cases, the English keep faith with the natives, and in others they have treated them in the most barbarous manner possible.

In a great number of instances the natives have been overreached and cheated by the whites;<sup>a</sup> and several instances are known of murders having been committed in New Zealand by Europeans.<sup>b</sup>

"The captain of a ship imported corrosive sublimate into New Zealand for the purpose of teaching the natives to invite their enemies down as friends, and then to poison them."<sup>c</sup>

Mr. Flatt states, that during the time he was at the Bay of Islands, two white people were murdered by whites.<sup>d</sup>

On the 8th of December, 1837, a white was executed at Sydney for "stealing in a dwelling-house, at the Bay of Islands, on the 18th of June, 1837, and putting John Wright in bodily fear."<sup>e</sup>

This is the first instance of crime in New Zealand being punished in an English Court of Justice.

"The natives (in the north) never kill Europeans, to my knowledge. They are very tenacious of retaining them in their tribes, for the sake of the emolument they procure them. These men make their bargains with the masters of vessels, and get a higher price."<sup>f</sup>

#### RESULTS.

The results of the intercourse of Christians with the New Zealanders are both good and bad; and if the account were not to be taken in reference to a probable future state of the natives, it would be difficult to decide whether the good or the bad predominates. Diseases have increased fatally in consequence of that intercourse. Wars, although they are still attended by cannibalism, and the enslaving of prisoners, are probably less sanguinary than in former days. Comforts and conveniences of all kinds are increasing among the tribes; but spirituous

<sup>a</sup> Evidence before House of Commons' Aborigines Committee, 1836, p. 190.

<sup>b</sup> Polack's New Zealand, vol. ii. p. 45. <sup>c</sup> Ibid., p. 43. <sup>x</sup> Ibid., pp. 41, 42.

<sup>y</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, *passim*.

<sup>z</sup> Evidence before the Aborigines Committee, p. 190, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Evidence before the Committee on Aborigines, 1836, p. 188.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>d</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords.

<sup>e</sup> Government Order in Polack's New Zealand, vol. ii. p. 440.

<sup>f</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, p. 23.

liquors have been introduced to their great injury; and if they gain much from their more civilized customers and employers, they are parting with their lands in a way that does not produce sufficient equivalents to themselves.

Above all, the number of Europeans, both residents and visitors, is now so great in New Zealand that its present condition of anarchy has become intolerable; and if not soon remedied there must speedily arise the common result of the absence of good government—increasing parties and sanguinary feuds.

#### SCHEMES FOR THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

There is a strong opinion in all quarters that some regular government is the great want of New Zealand at this moment, and various schemes are now under discussion for the purpose of effecting a change.

1. The missionaries propose to govern the country through their influence over the chiefs; and by means of British ships of war constantly stationed in the New Zealand seas; with British resident diplomatic agents in the principal towns; and with judges sent periodically from Sydney.

“In this way it is expected to form a native government which shall ultimately become voluntarily incorporated with Great Britain.”<sup>s</sup>

To facilitate the execution of this scheme the missionaries propose that the existing native laws shall be forthwith collected, and reduced into writing.

“This is a sort of combined operation of the influence of the government and the missionaries.”<sup>h</sup>

This missionary scheme is founded on the belief that the British nation is incapable of reforming its wretched system of colonization, and that some interference with the independence of the natives is justifiable for their good.

2. A second scheme, laid before the government, and printed by the House of Commons, proposes to establish commercial factories only in various parts of New Zealand, supported by a few forts, and to confine the introduction of British authority and law to the circuit of the forts, under treaties with the tribes.

3. A third scheme is that of the New Zealand Association, which aims at reforming the existing system of British colonization, so as to enable the natives to amalgamate with well-governed settlers, under treaties with the tribes.

Both these schemes are founded upon the opinion that, by the law of nations, Great Britain has acquired a right in the soil of New Zealand as against all the world except the native tribes.

4. A fourth scheme is begun to be executed by the Baron de Thierry. It resembles the first scheme proposed by the missionaries, except the important point, of his substituting himself as the king and guide of the New Zealanders, by their consent, in the place of the British government.”<sup>i</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords, pp. 266, 275; Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines, 1836, p. 513.

<sup>h</sup> Evidence before the House of Lords.

<sup>i</sup> *Ibid.*, and Mr. Polack's *New Zealand*.